

PEACE NEWS

Brotherhood : Non-Violence : Freedom

**NEXT STEP IN
SOUTH AFRICA'S
FIGHT FOR FREEDOM**

page three

No. 949

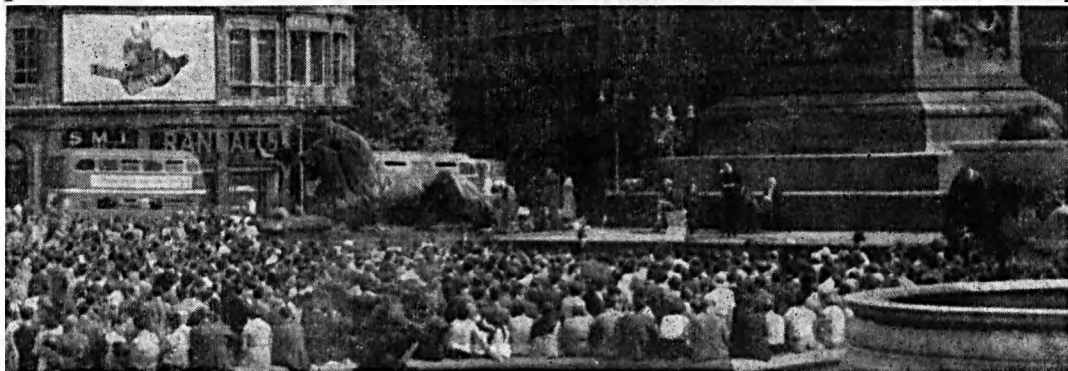
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MONSTER H-BOMB RALLY TOMORROW



Tomorrow (Saturday), The London Pipe Band will lead a march to Trafalgar Square where it is hoped that one of the largest rallies of recent years will assemble to urge renunciation of the Hydrogen Bomb by Britain. Sybil Morrison, Campaign Organiser of the Peace Pledge Union, will introduce the speakers—John Hoyland, field worker of the Peace Committee of the Society of Friends; Emrys Hughes, Member of Parliament for South Ayrshire and Treasurer of the PPU; Stuart Morris, General Secretary of the PPU; Rev. Francis Noble, Vicar of Orpington and member of the Anglican Pacifist Fellowship; Victor Yates, Member of Parliament for Ladywood, Birmingham.

After the rally a peace exhibition will be on show at the nearby Friends Meeting House at 52 St. Martins Lane. Tea and sandwiches will be available.

In the evening at 7 p.m. a panel including D. Martin Dakin, national winner of the BBC's "Any Questions?" programme; Rev. Clifford Macquire, Secretary of the Fellowship of Reconciliation; Emrys Hughes; Stuart Morris and others, will answer questions put to them by the audience. Sybil Morrison will act as Question Master.

Persons wishing to take part in the march are asked to assemble at 6 Endsleigh Street, W.C.1, at 1.45 p.m. The meeting in the Square will commence at 3 p.m.

Russians go home—with hopes for visit to U.S

By BARBARA BOWMAN, one of the team of young British Quakers who have been hosts to six young Russians during a month's stay in Britain. The Russians left England on Tuesday.

MONDAY

AS the departure-time for the Russians draws near we look back with thankfulness on the many happy times we have had together.

On Sunday, August 22 we visited the Oxford Meeting of the Society of Friends and were glad to be received by Friends in the town where the idea of the visit by the Russians originated.

Discussions at Charney Manor, the Quaker hostel near Oxford, touched fundamentals and were stimulating and profitable.

In the final session each team suggested to the other practical ways in which we can work for peace.

Young Friends began, making it clear that we were doing so in all humility, realising our responsibility to work on similar lines in our own country.

We first asked our Russian guests to encourage more normal intercourse between the people of their country and ours, suggesting that this might be done through living and holidaying in each other's countries, through exchange of students, participation in seminars, and work-camps, and through the Youth Hostel Association and the Friends Ambulance Unit.

Secondly we asked that their press should work for reconciliation, reporting the good, constructive work of UNO's auxiliary organisations, seeking for the good points in American policy, and telling of the work of youth organisations in other countries, including those not specifically connected with the Peace Movement.

Thirdly we asked them to try to influence their own side, as we are trying to influence our side, to be willing to make the first concessions necessary to relieve international tension.

More news of USSR wanted

These proposals were favourably received and the Russians promised to refer them to the anti-Fascist Committee for consideration.

In replying the Young Russians said that travel facilities and opportunities for more normal intercourse were improving and would continue to do so.

They hoped that we would encourage our press to give more news of life in the Soviet Union.

They stressed that the Soviet Government was most anxious for peace, the abolition of atom and hydrogen bombs, and the settlement of the German problem.

They asked Young Friends to consider seriously participation in the World Peace Movement, the International Union of Students and the World Federation of Democratic Youth.

In concluding the session they said that our invitation had opened a new and bright page in the history of relations between British and Soviet young people; the value of work cannot be judged by its scale, if it is right it will have great power.

On our way from Charney Manor to the Young Friends' National Conference at Sidcot,

we visited the Friends Ambulance Unit headquarters at Melksham where the Russians were delighted to meet young workers for peace of several nationalities.

The Russians had been looking forward to the Sidcot Conference as the highlight of their visit, and I think they were not disappointed.

They enjoyed the entertainment by Young Friends as much as the opportunities for discussion.

On the Thursday evening, Ivan Vassilyev, leader of the Soviet team said in a formal speech that despite our differences of opinion there are genuine opportunities for Friends in Britain and for Soviet young people to work together for peace.

On the Friday morning American and Canadian Young Friends discussed with the Russians the possibility of inviting a similar delegation to the United States. We, who have learned so much from our Soviet guests, wish American Friends all success in this venture.

On Saturday, August 28 a social was held at Friends House, Euston, where many Friends, old and young, enjoyed meeting the Russians.

During the evening the Russians presented to the British Young Friends' team delightful books—reproductions of pictures in a Moscow Art Gallery, pictures of Moscow University, and the Moscow metro—and were presented with a Quaker book each.

These tangible tokens of the friendship formed between the two teams represent something which we hope will continue and grow.

THE PRESS CONFERENCE

Peace News Reporter

THERE was a different air about the Press Conference last Friday with the Young Russians. Even the bored reporters from the Tabloids ("anything with a human touch from a strangulation to a wedding"), were showing signs of interest as they waited for the Russian youth delegation to arrive.

For this was something out of the ordinary. Soviet official representatives are one thing; six men and women on an informal, do-as-you-please tour are another. The Russians spent three weeks looking at Britain in the company of the young Quakers who invited them. They stayed overnight at Quaker homes. They went into serious discussions with their English hosts in the quiet of a country Guest House.

And that—in these days of armoured cars, lie detectors and spy trials—is something.

There was also a chance for those who had the inclination to stay a little after the conference, to mark one important feature. During the conference the Russians sat, with their British guests, looking somewhat uncomfortable, embarrassed. In the chair sat the Leader. He began by making a statement—one of the interminable, dreary, platitudinous statements

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"We want a Europe united by pacifism and disarmament"

—M. Herriot, Aug. 30, 1954

AFTER E.D.C. WHAT NEXT?

By STUART MORRIS

THE main purpose of the visit last month by M. Mendes France to Sir Winston Churchill now appears clear.

It was to explain that though EDC was as good as dead, France was still committed to the conception of the Atlantic Alliance, and that M. France would be prepared to advocate the restoration of sovereignty to W. Germany and to ask the French Parliament to ratify the Bonn agreement, provided that Britain would support France in a claim for adequate guarantees about German rearmament.

If this was the case there was much significance in Churchill's parting words, "I will do all I can to help you."

M. France will now presumably seek the approval of the Assembly to the restoration of sovereignty to W. Germany, and much will depend upon the kind of guarantees required, and what is involved in the question of sovereignty.

Mr. Foster Dulles, asked if the restoration of sovereignty would confer on W. Germany the right to rearm, replied that sovereignty bespoke a right to determine one's own policy, except for limitations accepted by a free act of will.

But how far will W. Germany freely accept limitations? And if she is to be asked to accept any limitations why should she not be asked to remain disarmed on the understanding that the other Powers would also disarm?

Under the present circumstances it is extremely doubtful whether Dr. Adenauer will be satisfied with the Bonn agreement accepted by him some months ago. The insistence of America on the rearmament of W. Germany has meant that the original intention to insist on Germany remaining disarmed was forgotten and Adenauer has been put into an increasingly strong bargaining position.

German opinion

One German daily paper expressed the nationalist opinion when it said:

"There is no use in waiting for equality and sovereignty. No one is going to give them to us unless we demand them over and over again."

America is bound to take the rejection of EDC very badly, and may try to keep its policy alive and attempt to isolate France, preferring to rely on an obedient Adenauer than a recalcitrant Mendes-France.

In other words the US may press for a German army in spite of everything and may even propose an American-German military alliance, preferring to have Germany on her side instead of France. A recent vote in the US Senate virtually gave Eisenhower a blank cheque in dealing with Germany.

Rumours have come from Washington of plans for an Eight-Power conference in which France, W. Germany, Italy, Belgium, the Netherlands, Luxembourg, Britain and America would discuss a further agreement to set up a "little NATO" in which the closer association of Britain would offset fears of German dominance and ease the mind of France.

Other possibilities include the admission of W. Germany as a full member of the existing NATO, but France, with her power of veto, is not likely to accept this as a better alternative to EDC without strong guarantees against the revival of German militarism.

Dr John's disclosures

The disclosures of Dr. John and the later assertions of Dr. Schmidt-Wittmark about a secret meeting at which American and German representatives had agreed on a German army of 24 divisions, instead of the 12 provided for in the Treaty, have not helped to allay French fears.

Wittmark claimed to have obtained the information as chairman of the defence committee of the Junge Union, and as one of the Christian Democrats in whom the Chancellor confided.

The denial of his assertions by official American and W. German sources may not have given adequate reassurance in view of the old definition of diplomacy as "lying abroad for the good of one's country."

So far as W. Germany is concerned it must not be forgotten that in his report of the Brussels Conference Dr. Adenauer boasted that when matters reached a critical stage "we Germans had our backs to the wall."

On the other hand Herr Ollenhauer, the leader of W. German Social Democrats, opposed to

M. HERRIOT CALLS FOR DISARMAMENT

IN his intervention in the debate on EDC in the French Assembly in support of General Aumeran's previous question motion M. Herriot said that for Germany the Bonn and Paris treaties represented a leap forward towards sovereignty, while for France they represented a step backwards. In effect the treaty discriminated against France, as a reunified Germany would be entirely free to leave the community, while this right was denied to France.

The EDC would throw Germany into the arms of Russia.

M. Herriot declared that one reason why he was absolutely opposed to the EDC was that Britain did not participate on the same terms—"a dangerous innovation in French foreign policy which I do not accept."

"I prefer" he said, "to carry on with the makeshift post-war system under which the United States, Britain, Russia and France are still keeping Germany under control."

"We do not want a solution through rearmament. We want a Europe united by pacifism and disarmament."

EDC, is tending to make political capital out of the failure of the policy which Adenauer has backed and may demand the Chancellor's resignation.

He has announced the readiness of his party to try to reach a new agreement with France on the basis of German unity first.

M. Molotov's proposals

That would seem to point to further negotiations with the Soviet Union, which M. Mendes-France is known to favour and for which he may have tried to secure British support.

It is interesting that, whether deliberately or not, any reply to Mr. Molotov's invitation to a further conference has been delayed until after the French decision on EDC.

Mr. Molotov's proposals still hold the field and there is a greater urgency than ever that Britain, America and France should accept the invitation and make a further attempt to reach an agreed settlement.

So long as America could hope for a French ratification, as they did during the Berlin conference, their attitude was coloured by the unwillingness to abandon their plans. With EDC dead the US may be prepared to take a more realistic view of the situation, and to give adequate examination to the Russian Proposals for a collective security system for the whole of Europe.

After all both sides profess to desire German unity: both sides are agreed on the principle of free elections throughout Germany as the means of creating an all-German government. There is thus real ground for compromise. Russia could accept the Western conditions for free elections, the West could agree to abandon any attempt to bring a united Germany into their defence system.

Another factor in the situation is the note from the Polish Government proposing a treaty of mutual aid and alliance between France and Poland.

The proposals may have been a political move to play on the French fears of Germany at a vital moment, and they are not likely to be

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PEACE NEWS

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September 3, 1954

MAN'S CAPACITY FOR EVIL

LORD RUSSELL'S BOOK, "The Scourge of the Swastika" is likely to have considerable circulation, added to by the fact that it is being serialised in the Daily Express.

It is apparent that there are many who can read of such things as are described in the book, if not with pleasure, at least with avidity. It is, of course, these people that it is least desirable should read a book of this kind. Those of us who feel a strong disinclination to read it are those who should probably bring themselves under compulsion to do so as a duty.

Mr. Kingsley Martin has expressed something of this view when he says that the book should be made compulsory reading in Germany; but it would be better for the Germans to read, not an account written by an Englishman, but one written by a German in a spirit of penitence.

Whereas we believe that there is a particular need for pacifists to make themselves acquainted with the worst evils that both sides can commit: erstwhile enemies (concentration camps and gas chambers); prospective enemies (labour camps and death purges); and our own side (the "saturation" bombing of Harris, Hiroshima and Nagasaki), we do not think this applies with such force with those who are ready to accept the method of war, but that they do well to acquaint themselves with the full horror of the things that have been done on their own behalf.

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What is desirable for circulation in the USA and Britain is a full-length study, written by an American or an Englishman, of the real character of the thing that was done at Hiroshima and Nagasaki. John Hersey's brief account was written too early for this. When he wrote he was unable to take in the full horror of the thing that had happened; nor could he know the extent of the after-consequences that we now learn have brought the death of 300,000 people.

There is a great readiness on this side of the world to take it for granted that the infliction of death, suffering, and reduction of human beings to agonised chunks of imbecility, that took place in Japan is somehow less of a crime than the type of evil of which the Germans showed themselves capable (and Frenchmen and Belgians also in their own countries under German coercion). We find it difficult to accept this view.

The assumption is that although the decisions taken—the decision to destroy the people of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and the decision to destroy the Jews, for instance—were both massive decisions, the Japanese decision could be kept massive in action and implemented by very few people while the decision made by the Hitler regime had to be carried out in detail by a great number of people, many of whom had to operate directly upon the bodies of their victims.

This is a spurious distinction; and one that is adopted because it enables the people of America and their allies to put their own guilt out of their minds in contemplating the greater guilt of the Germans.

When men accept the perpetration of evil in war—even evil in the dimensions that we are discussing—they are able to find some kind of psychological protection that enables them to continue to live with themselves although it may seem to those who contemplate what has been done that this might be impossible.

★ ★

On Mr. Truman would seem to fall the heaviest responsibility for the terrible destruction of humanity at Hiroshima and Nagasaki, but he has apparently been able to find protection against any sense of overwhelming evil in the assurance that he gives himself that if he had not so decided, the war in Japan would have resulted in the loss of a great many more American lives. It is to be presumed that the other top-level statesmen of the time who were involved in the decision—men like Mr. Attlee and Sir Winston Churchill—find their psychological protection on similar lines, and that the men at the executive end of these actions—the men in the aeroplanes—were also able to find a similar kind of shield; with the exception, of course, of the poor young man whose life we know to have collapsed.

Now the men who executed the horrors of the Hitler regime had evidently to find a different kind of psychological protection; but it would seem that they were able to find it just as was President Truman. We are told that in their home life many of these Germans were admirable men: good husbands and loving fathers. They were given a job to do as patriotic servants of the state and they were able to keep their consciences tolerably quiet by the fact that they were conscientious workers, meticulously concerned with that "technical" aspects of their job, paying strict attention to the docketing and the records, and, of course, keeping in front of themselves the fact that it was not their duty to make decisions, but only to carry them out.

★

That may not sound very conclusive to us? But is that the point? It was their consciences that had to be dealt with, just as it was his that President Truman had to confront. And beyond these things it has to be remembered that others than Germans carried out cruel atrocities at the German behest. Some of them were carried out at Oradour by Frenchmen, and it was held by other Frenchmen who sat in judgment upon them that they were to be forgiven because they had been guilty of these evil things under the impulse of their fear; and this shameful justification can of course be applied to many Germans also.

It may in fact apply to us all, for under the impulse of our fear we are now ready to contemplate the committing again of atrocities like Hiroshima and Nagasaki many times magnified.

E.D.C.—R.I.P.

At one of the conferences in Paris on the peaceful solution of the German problem a French Deputy who had spoken against EDC was asked whether he would not vote against ratification when the Treaty was discussed in the Assembly.

His reply was characteristic. "No... we will let the Germans throw it out and they can take the kicks from America."

But things did not work out that way and Adenauer, always anxious to please America, secured a majority for ratification in the Bonn Parliament. Everything then depended on France, and under weak governments, which have hesitated about the possible consequences to France if the Treaty was not ratified, a decision has been postponed from month to month.

Now the French Assembly has spoken and EDC is dead.

The news of the voting in Paris has been met with widespread concern and France is being blamed for rejecting what was a French proposal originally and for jeopardising the future of Europe. In fact the final form of EDC bore little reference to the original French proposal, and our gratitude is due to France for having had the courage to reject proposals which could only have resulted in shaping the immediate future of Western Europe on the wrong lines.

Next business

Next business

MENDES FRANCE is nothing if not a realist and in the French Assembly he did not hesitate to give the fullest details of the discussions at Brussels, an example which other politicians would do well to follow.

He was obviously impressed by the complete line up of the other five governments against France, but even that did not persuade him to ask the Assembly to ratify the Treaty. Nor was he prepared to give any undertaking at Brussels for which he knew the backing of Parliament was unlikely.

He had three courses open to him:

1. advocate the adjournment of the debate for a further period to allow for resumed negotiations;
2. ask for approval of his own compromise proposals as a basis for further talks;
3. proceed with a straight vote on the Treaty.

He knew that he could not win support for ratification or for the concessions which had been offered at Brussels, even if that was his desire.

He was dubious whether he could carry the Deputies with him on his own compromise proposals, though he was prepared to accept an adjournment motion if that implied support for his policy.

On the other hand he saw the need of saving France from another political crisis, and in the belief that it was his duty to remain in office and get a decision on EDC he declined to make the vote a matter of confidence. So he decided that the government should remain neutral in the debate. The decision was thus left to a free vote of the House, but the Prime Minister asked that the debate should run its full course and that no interim motion should curtail it.

He seemed to have got his way on this point until Monday morning when the pro-EDC party insisted after all on tabling their motion which would have had the effect of adjourning the debate in order to allow of further negotiations with the parties to the Brussels conference.

This intervention caused General Aumeran to retable his "previous question" motion. Tension mounted and at one time it appeared doubtful whether the Cabinet could maintain the measure of unity it had achieved; four of five of the pro-EDC Ministers were threatening

BEHIND THE NEWS

to resign—a threat which may now be carried out.

When the vote was taken at the end of a three day debate the National Assembly by 319 votes to 264 dismissed the EDC Treaty from its agenda.

Manilla manoeuvrings

THE Conference on SE Asia Security opens at Manila on September 6. and Mr Dulles is so optimistic about the results that he expects that it will all be over in four days.

It is his hope that in that brief period the participating nations will agree "to build up a new and dependable barrier against possible Communist aggression."

It will be unfortunate if the increased tension in Europe makes it impossible for Mr. Eden to be present, because the British point of view differs somewhat from the American and needs to be put as strongly as possible.

While all will agree on the need for securing a peaceful settlement of SE Asian problems, many will doubt whether that can be done by a new collective security system. Even those who favour it may find themselves beset with difficulties when they try to define aggression or set bounds to the area which they would make their special concern.

Will the SEATO powers claim the right to intervene in any country in Asia which is threatened by Communism?

If so, how?

What exact degree of interference from outside will justify intervention?

Eden's Influence

FURTHER questions will arise about the position of Japan, Korea, Formosa and some of the states in Indo-China, whose inclusion in the pact America is known to desire. But important as is the list of countries which might be included, the list of countries which will not take part in the Conference is even more important, and it is quite certain that the Colombo Powers will not be a party to any such security pact.

It is obviously out of place for Powers whose main association is with the West to try to settle Asian affairs without consultation with and approval from Asian countries, and one reason for hoping that Mr. Eden will be present is that he has shown himself most unwilling to take any steps which have not the acquiescence, if not the good will of India.

Mr. Nehru is not even neutral about SEATO. He is definitely hostile to it and he has issued a public warning that in his view SEATO would increase tension and the feeling of insecurity.

In his recent statement on foreign policy in the Lower House of the Indian Parliament, the Prime Minister explained that their adherence to the principles of non-violence meant that India must not adopt, advocate or deliberately bring about situations of violence. To him the only reasonable collective security lies in resolving instead of increasing the existing tensions.

Nehru's policy

MR. NEHRU is rightly prepared to accept the honesty of China's intentions, and to believe that an understanding based upon the principles agreed between himself and Chou en-Lai is possible.

Peaceful co-existence: non-intervention in internal affairs: mutual respect

for territorial integrity and sovereignty: equality and non-aggression—these are to him more likely to provide the conditions for security than any pact which, though it may be claimed to be defensive, must inevitably be regarded as offensive by those against whom it is directed.

After all whether a gun is regarded as a weapon of offence or defence does depend very much upon whether you are holding it or looking down the wrong end of the barrel.

Moreover Mao Tse-tung has made it clear to the Labour Party delegation that there is no basic reason to prevent friendly co-existence between China and Britain, and for that matter between China and America.

China would like to be a signatory to a non-aggression pact between herself and the Colombo Powers, and if Britain or France, or preferably both, would associate themselves with it, so much indeed the better.

The realities of the situation in SE Asia and in Europe demand not the repetition of the mistakes made in NATO by the setting up of SEATO but the readiness to discuss without fear or prejudice the alternative method of providing collective security as outlined in M. Molotov's proposals to the West and the principles agreed upon between India and China in the East.

Formosa

THE recent charges made by the Peking Government that American forces and the forces of Chiang Kai-shek in combination (cruisers, destroyers and military aeroplanes) have been conducting activities off the coast of Chekiang province are an indication of the great danger inherent in the situation regarding Formosa.

The Peking Government, through various mouthpieces is reiterating its intention to "liberate" Formosa, while Dulles follows Eisenhower in announcing that the Seventh Fleet will protect the island from such liberating activities, and supplements this by the suggestion that the outlying islands should be similarly protected.

The danger is that the protection is to be a one-sided affair. The US Government has encouraged Chiang Kai-shek to make forays from Formosa and the neighbouring islands upon the islands held by the Chinese Government. If the "liberation" move comes it will doubtless happen as a counter-attack against one of these forays and the US Government issues no public warning to Chiang regarding these.

It is quite evident that both Chiang Kai-shek and Syngman Rhee are not deterred, but rather encouraged by the danger of touching-off a world war; and the US Government are displaying a gross failure in loyal regard for their obligation to their allies.

A correspondent on page 5 comments on our notes on this subject last week. Apart from his feeling that we have "not exposed to the full the wickedness and the arrogance of the Americans" we do not find it easy to understand where he is quarrelling with us, unless he desires to give support to Chou En-lai's view that it would be intolerable to have Formosa placed under UN trusteeship.

Our attitude to this matter is governed by two main considerations: first, we believe that the admission of China to its rightful place in UN might have an effect in changing the climate of opinion beyond calculation; and second, we hold that the right people to settle the future of Formosa are neither the Peking Government nor the Government of Chiang with America behind him, but the seven million inhabitants of the island. To place the island under UN trusteeship would provide an opportunity for the wishes of the inhabitants to be declared.

Bishop Peter at Evanston

Letter from U.S.A. by A. J. Muste

WE are smack in the middle of the Evanston Assembly of the World Council of Churches as this letter is being written and it is impossible as yet to forecast what the Assembly may do about matters in which Peace News readers are specially interested. What is clear is that all varieties of opinion are represented and that the top people are divided among themselves and as yet uncertain what to say about the H-bomb.

The Nominations Committee has presented its slate and although theoretically additional nominations may be made from the floor, it is safe to assume that the slate will be formally adopted. The Bishop of Chichester was made an honorary president with the freedom of Central Committee. This probably assures that "full participation" in the deliberations of the the Bishop will be a permanent fixture in the WCC since "non-honorary" presidents may not succeed themselves! There is no doubt that the Bishop is the single most powerful figure in the WCC today.

There is one outspoken pacifist and Fellowship of Reconciliation member among the six presidents: Methodist Bishop Santo Uberto Barbieri of Argentina, Uruguay and Bolivia. He is 52, lived in Italy until the age of six, later 20 years in Brazil, four in the USA, and

other four in Brazil and then 14 years in Brazil and Argentina. He must be a prolific writer as the press announcement states that he has published 25 books in Portuguese, Spanish and English and has four more awaiting publication!

Among the ninety members nominated for the all-powerful Central Committee I can definitely identify five as pacifists and for people. The best known is Martin Niemöller of Germany who joined the Fellowship in that country only about three months ago. Another is Dr. Michio Kozaki, head of the United Church of Japan, who has introduced in one terminated.

Still another is Dr. Ansgar Eeg-Olofsson of the Mission Covenant Church, Stockholm, Sweden. Great Britain is represented by Dr. Eric Baker, London Methodist, and the USA by Dr. Michael Robert Zigler, known as Bob to all of his friends, who has been the European representative of the Church of the Brethren. He will continue in that capacity, residing at Geneva. He was very influential in the preparation of the joint pacifist statement of the Historic Peace Churches and the International Fellowship of Reconciliation, prepared at the suggestion of the WCC secretariat

and published under the title, "Peace Is the Will of God."

The other topic on which I shall report in this letter is the reply made by the Hungarian Bishop, John Peter, to a series of questions put to him by an Advisory Group picked from among the 500 or more press, radio and television representatives who are working at this Assembly. It is amusing that an "interview" in which these replies were given was held, after the State Department in Washington had declared that for Bishop Peter to hold a "press conference" would be overstepping the bounds aware of the difference between an "interview" and a "conference." At any rate the managers of the Assembly seems to be confident that it is.

The first question put to Bishop Peter, in a series of frank and very probing ones, was whether he was a Communist Party member. The answer was: "It would be impossible."

The next was whether in any sense of the word he could properly be called a Communist and the answer: "Properly speaking, I could not be called so." The replies seem to me to indicate the difficulties with which we have to cope in such a situation.

It may be that the two replies are completely

□ On back page

A CONGRESS OF THE PEOPLE

Rev. A. W. Blaxall, Chairman of the South African Fellowship of Reconciliation, reports on developments since the Defiance Campaign.

MORE than a thousand persons were assembled in the Trades Hall, Johannesburg, on Sunday, July 25, 1954, to take part in the launching of the first preparation stage for a Congress of the People, the main objective of which will be the endorsement of a Charter of Human Rights for all people in the Union of South Africa.

At least 90 per cent. of those present were Africans, the rest being Indians and Coloured people, with a sprinkling of white people.

As is now usual in South Africa, members of the CID (Criminal Investigation Department), both white and black, were known to be present, and police cars waited outside. The meeting was declared private, everyone's credentials being scrutinised as they entered. The detectives refused to leave.

By 2 p.m. petitioners from the meeting, which had started at 10 a.m., obtained an interdict from Mr. Justice Blackwell and all representatives of the police left. Date for response to the interdict was fixed for August.

Argument on this issue has since taken place but final judgement has not yet been given.

The end is not yet

The story behind the meeting in the Trades Hall is important, and the end is not yet. Savage legislation (Criminal Laws Amendment Act; Amendment to the Suppression of Communism Act, etc.) unquestionably had the effect of causing a halt in the Campaign for the Defiance of Unjust Laws, sometimes called the Defiance Campaign of 1952/3. As one of the top organisers said to me: "It was one thing to encourage the people to defy when they might get 21 days in gaol; it is another thing when they may be lashed."

But the spirit of resistance has been quickened not crushed, my own observation being that the African National Congress, and similar organisations, are actually stronger and more disciplined today than ever in their history; that in spite of the fact that their leader, ex-Chief Albert Luthuli, and many others have been immobilised by various banning orders.

Again to quote an African leader: "The banning of our leaders is the best thing that could have happened to us. As fast as some are put out of action we train others who in the ordinary way would never have had a chance."

The idea of a nation-wide Congress ostensibly came from joint sessions of the African National Congress, the Indian National Congress, the new Coloured People's Association and the Congress of Democrats (inter-racial).

It is generally assumed, and is very probable, that the smallest of the four had the greatest influence, namely the Congress of Democrats. It is because several members of that Congress

are known to have been members of the old Communist Party that opponents of the idea of a National Congress assert that the organisation is Communist-dominated.

For myself I am satisfied that there are as many, if not more, non-European leaders in the new set-up who have never at any time been Communists, as there are actual former members of that now illegal body.

For several years now highly responsible bodies like the Institute of Race Relations, the



Children of Alexandra Township—a "Freedom Charter" for them?

—Picture Post

Chambers of Commerce and Industry, and the Christian Council, have passed pious resolutions affirming that a new National Convention is needed to determine the shape of the nation's future. [The last and only Convention was held in 1910 and resulted in the Act of Union. The views of non-white inhabitants of the four uniting countries were represented only indirectly by the existing laws in the different countries. In what was then known as the Colony of the Cape of Good Hope there existed a very sound principle of universal franchise with the result that the hopes and aspirations of non-whites were carefully considered and, it was imagined, protected.]

None of these proposals having in the slightest degree moved the Government to any sign of interest, it has been left for the bodies mentioned above to work out a concrete proposal for the convening of an Assembly that could be truly nation-wide in composition.

About a year ago a joint committee of the four organisations sent out invitations to social, cultural, religious, and political bodies (including the Government and opposition parties) but the response was very slight. The inevitable result followed, and those who were in earnest proceeded to make plans.

No response from authority

Following a familiar pattern they coined the popular title Freedom Campaign and issued circulars and printed appeals calling on industrial workers, agricultural labourers, educationists, churches, in fact everyone, to discuss their disabilities: "Let us speak of Freedom," they reiterated every time.

So far there has been no response from those in authority other than the fact that many of the leaders have had their movements restricted, been banned from attending meetings, and ordered to resign executive posts, under the Suppression of Communism, or the Riotous Assemblies Acts. But the movement has gained momentum, as was evidenced by the meeting already quoted, and others held at the same time in different centres in the country.

That the idea is now being taken seriously is clear from the fact that at their last annual conference in July the Liberal Party—President, Margaret Ballinger, MP—as well as several individuals outside the Congress, have agreed to take part in the preliminary arrangements. Whether they will be able to exercise much influence in the actual organisation remains to be seen.

Meanwhile the first outline has been issued, showing that much thought and hard work has been put into it.

No actual date or place has been suggested beyond the fact that the middle of 1955 is mentioned as a sort of deadline.

Groups are to be formed everywhere composed of men and women of all sections of

Resistance in S. Africa

— a Scientist's assessment

The Background to Passive Resistance (South Africa, 1952) by Leo Kuper. British Journal of Sociology, September 1953. Routledge and Kegan Paul, 10s.

I HAVE always regarded with some suspicion attempts to apply scientific techniques to social problems; all too often they become ridiculous in their loose assumption that mechanistic laws (analogous to those in physical science) are the governing factors in the growth and development of human communities. Professor Leo Kuper's article in the British Journal of Sociology is, however, the most acute, persuasive and far-reaching analysis of the South Africa conflict that has come my way for a long time.

In spite of his readiness to follow other sociologists in the use of language such as this: "A loose strand of cultural radiation, like a loose electron . . ." Professor Kuper has discerned with brilliant clarity the main features of the cultural-political conflict that issued in the Passive Resistance campaign two years ago.

I have not space enough to discuss at any length Kuper's argument, his analysis of the role of a backward-looking Utopia as a bait for Africans (restoration of tribal patterns, etc.) and the nature of the African groups who espouse it (herbalists, witch-doctors, etc.); his critique of White ideologies, none of which can meet the politically conscious non-White's minimum demands; his discussion of African movements in relation to democratic theory. Let me, however, urge all who desire to understand the South African problem to unearth this article and study it. It is a constructive beginning to intelligent South African sociology.

OLIVER CALDECOTT.

the community. They will appoint delegates who, when the date is determined, will converge on the place of the Congress by car, car and train. Popular demonstrations will send them off and welcome meetings will be held at points all along the routes to the place of assembly.

Suggestions for incorporation in the Freedom Charter are already invited, to be sent in by October of this year. Financial commitments are not overlooked, nor the formidable task of housing and feeding a vast gathering. Every detail is receiving attention. Should such a plan succeed it will assuredly shake the country as did the so-called Resistance Campaign of 1952/3, of which it is unquestionably a successor.

Prospects of success are difficult to estimate, largely because of the ability of the non-European population to work with determination in secret. At the same time there can be no illusions, notably: it is very far from being a mass movement, the unknown quantity being the vast numbers of rural and tribal people who are still the majority of Africans. Even in the great industrial centres the fear of losing what little security exists is a very real one.

Congress candidates

At the end of the year elections will take place under the Native Representation Act. Three members must be elected to the Assembly, and four Senators. The dreary and cumbersome machinery has stated to work, and candidates for nomination are already in the field, more will probably appear during the next few weeks.

It remains to be seen whether any candidates will align themselves with the proposal for a National Congress of the People, and what measure of support they will receive, although these elections are in no way a reliable barometer of African political opinion.

Significant as this election will be it is by no means the only factor to be considered in connection with the Congress of the People. As determination to establish a permanent White-Black relationship hardens among those who hold the reins of power, there are not lacking signs of great uneasiness among the still articulate white minority and the great mass of voteless non-whites.

The idea of a South African Charter of Rights is undoubtedly good, but it may be questioned whether the proposers of the Congress are not forcing the pace a little too fast, and whether they will not alienate a considerable amount of sympathy by their technique, especially by the inclusion in their programme of certain measures which belong to a long range programme for self-emancipation from the toils of tradition.

Students of the present world revolutionary process often ask: "What has happened to the Passive Resistance Campaign in South Africa, is it dead?" Some people will question whether there ever has been a Passive Resistance Movement in the Gandhian sense. Quiet, determined and completely passive defiance of unjust discrimination there has been sporadically ever since the birth of racial Congresses in South Africa—in this line is the new Movement which must be giving a pretty big headache to the Nationalist Government which likes to tell its adherents that they have finally crushed resistance and everything is well in hand.

DISARMAMENT UP TO DATE

MR. PHILIP NOEL-BAKER is to receive £1,900 from the Rockefeller Foundation to enable him to bring up to date his book on the subject of disarmament which was written 28 years ago.

PROGRESS OF THE AMERICAN NEGRO

"Amazing phenomenon"

THE progress of the American Negro in less than a century—the period between Abraham Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation freeing the slaves and the recent decision of the Supreme Court outlawing segregation in public schools—is one of the most amazing social phenomena of our time, according to a special number of the Unesco Courier, illustrated magazine of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation. The number is devoted in its entirety to a fully documented and illustrated description of the enormous strides made by the American Negro toward achieving equality of opportunity in all walks of life.

For the average person, the Courier points out, the racial question usually means little more than conflict, clashes and similar dramatic events. But the facts about the steady progress in the Negro's status have now become of world-wide interest because of the spectacular Supreme Court decision.

Noteworthy Advances

A large number of the facts are presented in the Courier by such outstanding experts as Thurgood Marshall, Special Counsel, National Association for the Advancement of Coloured People, and head of the team of Negro lawyers concerned with the protection of the legal rights of more than 15,000,000 American Negroes; Dr. Murray S. Stedman, Jr., Professor of Political Science, Swarthmore College, Pennsylvania; Morroe Berger, Assistant Professor of Sociology, Princeton University; Otto Klineberg, Professor of Psychology, Columbia University.

In a survey titled "A Look at US Race Relations," Dr. Berger recounts noteworthy advances since the 1930s in the battle against racial discrimination and the prejudices which cause it. The Supreme Court, in a series of decisions, gave the Federal and State governments greater power in protecting Negroes against discrimination; strengthened their rights in the administration of justice, citizenship, employment and voting; and helped to weaken segregation in education, housing and public transportation. The number of bills introduced in Congress dealing with minority problems rose from 10 between 1937-38 to 170 during the next ten years, and 72 between 1949-50.

The American Negro is gradually winning his fight for equal job opportunities with Whites because, as another article explains, the time has come "When Skill, not Colour, Counts." Negroes and Whites have very different ideas about the various aspects of discrimination. Whites are concerned with: intermarriage; other social relations; use of public facilities; political rights; legal and official discrimination; economic activities such as employment and land ownership. The Negroes, largely because of their low economic status, reverse the order of importance in this list.

Devastating Criticism

On the subject of the Supreme Court decision outlawing segregation in public schools, Dr. Stedman explains why the doctrine, previously operative, of "Equal but Separate" facilities in schools was judged unanimously by the Court to signify unequal. The principal passages of the momentous decision are given by the Courier; and Mr. Thurgood Marshall, who helped argue the case, writes on "The Great Test of Civil Rights."

Professor Klineberg, who has devoted most of his life to a study of the Negro problem, presents an exposition of a devastating criticism of racial prejudice: "The Effects of Segregation and the Consequences of Desegregation," signed by 32 American social scientists, and presented to the Supreme Court as an appendix to the brief of the NAACP. A two-page chronology of significant dates and events in the Negro's struggle for equality, is also published in this issue.

A Pattern of School Segregation, as it existed in the United States when the decision was reached, shows that segregation was required in 17 states and the District of Columbia; there was local option in four states; no specific legislation in 11 states; and segregation was prohibited in 16 states.

Winter courses at Freundschaftsheim

TWO courses of ten weeks each have been arranged at the pacifist training centre Freundschaftsheim, Buckeburg, Germany.

One before Christmas will have English as its working language and one after Christmas is meant for people who are well acquainted with the German language.

In addition to the individual studies four series of lectures in Religion and History will be given by Wilhelm Mensching (The New Testament and Peace, Church and War, The Spiritual Leaders of Mankind, The Role of Asia in Past and Contemporary History), Seminars in Geography and Sociology will be led by Gunnar Sundberg, and Russian language lessons will be given by Leo Schultz to students who wish to prepare themselves for future contacts in Eastern Europe.

The fee for one course will be 350 DM, which covers board and lodging as well as tuition. A limited number of scholarships are available, and applications together with personal recommendations should be sent to the Freundschaftsheim. The first course will start on October 3, 1954.

CALLING ALL PACIFISTS



THE end of the summer has often been a critical time in international affairs, and although what does not seem to have had a beginning can hardly be said to have an end, history is repeating itself this year.

Tension is increasing in SE Asia, where the Korean deadlock continues and Formosa is a storm centre. In Europe a new situation has to be faced and there may well be a period of hard bargaining before the confusion is resolved. The initials NATO and SEATO will be much in evidence, as also will UN when the Assembly meets to face the problems of the admission of China, and of Cyprus.

What the results will be no one can forecast, but we know that there is a peaceful solution to all these problems. We know that war is not inevitable and we must not behave as though it were, or, for that matter, as though peace was inevitable either, and refuse to take any part in shaping things to come.

We must not let our individual renunciation of war, important as that is, lead us to isolate ourselves from the march of events.

Amongst the other initials under which we disguise policy and plans PPU stand out for the policy which makes real peace possible, and as we move into a critical period we have to increase our activities.

But this is a critical period for the Peace Pledge Union in one way, as our bank balance shows only too clearly. We have to face the autumn's work with far too slender financial resources, and what we have is supplied by a proportion of our members and friends.

It is they who make it possible for the PPU to carry on, and the others, who want the PPU to be doing its job but do nothing to help, are exploiting their fellow pacifists. If you are one of the former, please be assured of our gratitude. If you are one of the latter, if you have not given a single penny this year to help the Peace Pledge Union in the spread of pacifism, please take this to heart, without offence.

We do need YOUR help: we need it urgently. I am sure that you do not want to contract out of your responsibilities, and I am sure that you can and will spare something for the PPU Headquarters Fund this week, if you really care.

STUART MORRIS
General Secretary.

Our aim for 1954 £1000
Amount received to date £407

Donations to the Peace Pledge Union should be sent marked "Headquarters Fund," to the PPU Treasurer at Diek Sheppard House, Endsleigh Street, W.C.1.

NAZISM

Labour has not sufficiently examined the reasons for its revival says TOM WARDLE in this discussion on the German rearmament problem.

TRADITIONALLY, a pacifist sentiment has informed the Labour Movement but this has ceased to be a factor in British Labour politics today to such an extent that nobody has bothered to raise it on the question of rearming Germany.

Attlee nodded at the pacifist view in his broadcast and paid it the usual "respects," but did not deal with it, even to dismiss it. The plain fact probably is that he did not know that there was a pacifist angle on the issue.

Now there is a pacifist case which has become obstructed by the confusion into which many pacifists have got themselves in their general enthusiastic support for a campaign which seems to be going their way in respect of one country at least; and it will not do the Labour movement at large any harm to think about the implications of this growing rank-and-file protest.

No market worries

Preventing the rearmament of Germany is not just a question of not putting arms into German hands, positively, deliberately, it is also a matter of keeping Germany herself from putting them into her own hands. German industry is in such a state of prosperity and growth today, significantly in the steel industry, that it would be merely a matter of months before arms could be rolling out of her factories.

Neither is it to be supposed that German industrialists would be loth to turn to armaments production. It is surely not necessary for socialists to be told that arms manufacture is a profitable and above all, stable, business. There are no market worries as there are, for instance, with Volkswagens.

In the event therefore of Britain's not acceding to the rearmament of Germany and the issue becoming an impracticable one for the Nato powers, the only apparent alternative would be something on the lines of the Russian proposals for the evacuation of occupation troops and the holding of general elections in the hope that a government unitedly elected by what is presently West and East Germany would adopt and maintain a policy of demilitarisation.

When Labour leaders talk about a situation in which West Germany would remain disarmed, as a situation of "vacuum," untenable for long, they are talking about a reality which has been well understood in the modern world.

They are also talking about the same kind of situation as would result from the hot-house formation of a united German Government in an unoccupied land. What guarantee could there be that Germany once united would not turn again to the path of militarism? The guarantee, say the Russians, that we and the West would provide with our arms. At the slightest suspicion of clandestine rearmament, the occupation armies would move in again.

Without spending too much time reflecting on the picture of armies moving in and out of Germany like cuckoos in a clock, what does this mean finally? It means that the security of Europe can only be assured by Nato and the Russian group maintaining sufficient forces and arms to be able to put down renaissance Nazism and take over the administration of Germany once more. It means indefinite occupation at one remove.

The real trouble

This appears to be the position to which current Labour thinking, opposed to German rearmament, is brought.

It is not to be expected for one moment that such a situation would in any sense be an improvement on the one that exists in Europe today, or even for that matter, upon the situation that would be brought about by EDC. Germany would still be a centre of tension and a cause of fear. But the greatest danger might come from the mischief that she could make between the powers, even without arms, were she so disposed.

The real trouble seems to stem from the fact that the question why Germany might be tempted to go Nazi again has not been sufficiently examined. It is assumed that, without external disciplining, she will return again to the policies and adventures which brought ruin to Europe.

The behaviour of Adenauer, the secret goings-on behind the scenes, the positioning of high ex-Nazis in leading government posts, even the support of leading Social Democrats for the arms plan, all seem to point to the restoration of the Greater Germany complex.

Have the causes of the last war been so quickly forgotten? Do socialists no longer recall their own analysis of the rise of Hitler? Have the arguments which applied then ceased to apply now?

It is true that the crushing poverty and hunger which followed World War I are not present in West Germany today, although they

were up to 1950 or so. But it was never merely the physical experience of defeat which threw up Hitler. Material problems could be coped with, by a policy of social change at home; psychological problems demanded conquest abroad.

The powers to blame

Today the German people, good and bad alike, are squirming under the humiliation of suppression. What produces Mau Mau in Kenya can produce neo-Nazis in Europe. Sovereignty, self-determination (self-respect?) are today becoming equated in Germany with the right to create an army and a war machine.

The powers, as before, have only themselves to blame. They have set the example. They have made it clear that freedom means freedom to arm, to go to war, to conquer. Germany today is denied those opportunities, thus she is not free. The removal of the occupation troops would only serve to deepen the hurt. Not to be occupied but to be denied the power of self-determination would be more galling than the evidence of subjection provided by the presence of foreign troops.

We come therefore to the inevitable conclusion that Germany and Europe can only be



Listening to Goebbels at a Nazi rally

at peace when the seeds of war are destroyed. If the soil is barren, they will not thrive, but in Europe today it was never more conducive to their growth. The best elements in German society must be given opportunity and encouragement to gain the leadership and the admiration of the German people. They can not do that while the atmosphere remains as neurotic as it is now.

Envy of the power and military superiority of the Occupying Powers can only cease to be a factor in the political life of Germany when there is no power and military superiority to envy. This implies general disarmament, not after the German problem has been dealt with, but before; in fact, in order to deal with that problem.

Most socialists today would dispense with that appeal as impracticable. They would say it was asking too much. But that has always been said of the pacifist line. At this stage there are democrats enough in Germany to be able to turn the whole stream of German life into constructive channels.

There are not a few who would like to see a return to a pre-Bismarckian pattern; their influence could well contribute towards the solution of the modern problem of State power. They might pave the way to a new conception of decentralised democracy and make a great contribution to enduring peace.

If the situation is left much longer, wounded pride and spiritual frustration will again spawn their ugly issue. By the time the whole nation is unbalanced, it will be too late again to do anything but fight and kill and die.

Germany is no less dangerous than the Hydrogen bomb. The two problems are the same. It is incredible that those who recognise that there is no longer any conceivable defence against the Hydrogen bomb can imagine that the domination of Germany by conventional weapons will prevent that country from becoming the trouble spot that will start the war which everyone fears. To keep Germany neutral, Europe must become neutral, to keep Germany disarmed, Europe must become disarmed. To talk of risks in a policy of this nature does not make sense while the geiger counters are ticking away in Los Alamos and the Urals.

RELIGION AND THE THIRD CAMP

By ANDRÉ TROCME

This article is an abridged version of Pastor Trocme's address at the recent triennial conference of the War Resisters' International

THIS is not the first time that peace movements have called on believers to join them in an effort to suppress war. The United Nations calls all the religious, idealistic forces to join its efforts to organise the world.

The European Federation people are calling repeatedly, the Democratic Christian parties of Germany, Italy, France, Belgium and Holland call to join a common front in order to have a peaceful Europe succeeding a Nazi or Fascist Europe.

The World Council of Churches is also calling the Christian and spiritual forces to join the World Council in its efforts to avoid war. So we do not have the privilege of being alone as a Third Camp in calling believers to help save peace.

But history proves that every time a political movement calls the Christians or the believers of the world to join them to eliminate war there is very soon a drift, because it is in the nature of political people to have to choose between two evils.

In terms of power

They can only solve their problems in terms of power; therefore they have to choose, and, having chosen, they take with them the Christians of good will who have been with them at the building of their enterprise.

Let us take the hypothesis of the Third Camp being a group of nations, a group of neutral nations between the Eastern and western power blocks. Let us start with Germany, because there is still a small hope that Germany would remain united and disarmed, and around Germany would come France and Italy where there are dreams of neutrality. From the East would come India, Burma, Indo-China and Indonesia. Then there would be the Scandinavian and Muslim states in which these neutralist tendencies are strong and the young African nations.

Now, I ask the question, could religious forces back this Third Camp? My answer is, No. For two reasons. One which is purely pragmatic, because the Third Camp nations would represent not only an ideal, an attempt to escape war, but also would represent economic needs and the egoistic interests of the nations involved—not only the interests, but also the fears and the collective emotions of those nations with certainly defensive regulations.

Look what happened in India. After the liberation of India, as soon as India had an independent government, there was a danger of a split and war with Pakistan, and India built up her armed forces.

The second reason is a theological reason. I hope I am not offending my Swiss friends who may be here. Neutral nations like Switzerland and Sweden are by no means better before God and less sinful than warring nations. They are luckier; they have perhaps a better policy but they are not less sinful than other nations.

In any universal religion God is not the God of the good people but of all the people, so that God would not be the God of the Third Camp but the God of the East and the God of the West and this is the point on which we have to insist.

Even for a Third Camp bloc God could not be mobilised. If we tried to mobilise Him, He would very quietly withdraw His presence and say: "No thank you."

We have tried to liquidate the hypothesis of power absorbing the whole situation; politics mobilising religion. Now let us try to see if religion can mobilise politics; if there is a chance—if we consider the thing the other way round—that we could succeed in having a Third Camp.

The children of God?

Somebody said today that the Third Camp exists; they could be called the children of God. All men of good will over the earth, Christians in Russia, America and Europe, Muslims who are in several camps, Buddhists of Japan and China and the Hindus—they are everywhere—so the Third Camp really exists. Could we not make the dream that, acting as leaven in the dough, these believers of the world who are serving truth and choosing good against evil, by being conscientious objectors, by resisting imperialism or totalitarianism, would gradually win their governments to a Third Camp policy?

Well, I have objections again. The first objection is that for 2,000 years the Christian Church has been told to be this Third Camp and it has not been able to penetrate the world with religion, and has not been able itself to unite round the teaching of Christ.

The second reason is that religions have always been, instead of for reconciliation, the cause of conflicts and wars since the days of the Crusades and the religious wars in France, Germany and England.

The task attaching to religion is: "Return to truth, repent." This teaching has been given, I think faithfully, by preachers all over the world, but experience proves that the process

of repentance is very slow and has little political impact.



Pastor Trocme speaking at Paris

West by capitalism and of the East by totalitarianism? Nothing more. Just a campaign of liberation where we can all unite without renouncing the party of our action. The advantage of such a simple programme is that many groups could belong. We would find a great amount of response among the people in Europe and the Asian countries who really desire to be liberated from capitalism or the menace of Russian totalitarianism.

We go to our Master, Mahatma Gandhi. In order to accomplish the liberation of his country, Mahatma Gandhi used very definite means. His only purpose was to liberate India and he adopted the means, the first means being non-co-operation—refusal to buy and to benefit from the goods coming from Great Britain—swadeshi, an attempt, while himself spinning on his little spinning wheel, to make goods which were typically and purely Indian.

Liberation and austerity

This means a certain amount of austerity. If we want to be liberated both from the influence of the East and the West we have to become austere.

The second slogan of Gandhi was the unity of the Indian people. This was realised when he himself identified himself with the outcasts. He did not admit any class distinction between rich and poor, between outcast and honoured people; therefore he succeeded. We have to take over that programme in our country too.

Gandhi is not a violent revolutionary; He does not use strikes; or non-co-operation except where maturity has been reached, not in society as such, but among his followers—maturity being the readiness to be led by truth.

In order to prepare this maturity, this readiness, we have to have two things. The first is discipline. Austerity will mean submitting to orders just as the Gandhi disciples submitted to orders by Gandhi.

Secondly we must have training centres. I do not dare to speak in terms of ashrams, but we have to have them and they do exist. There is a centre like that in North Germany where friends are preparing a real school of non-violence.

In a couple of months we will have a real training centre for non-violence in Versailles.

Doctrinal truth is not sufficient; typical religious doctrine is not that we should have truth. We must be ready to return to truth because in action we are continually losing contact with truth. We are always losing a little of our purity in action and therefore the real problem is the possibility of coming back to truth. This will be done in such centres and then submission and discipline moulded for common action.

THE THIRD CAMP

- * How it came about
- * What it is
- * What its prospects are

An explanation by
JOHN BANKS

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Peace News Ltd., 3 Blackstock Rd.
London

Talking of books...

By Robert Greacen

Heart on the Left by Leonhard Frank. Arthur Barker, 12s. 6d.

THE German writer Leonhard Frank is perhaps best-known in this country for his beautiful and moving novel, CARL AND ANNA, an exploration of the love relationship between man and woman. That he has, during a long life as a writer, been actively anti-War may not be common knowledge. In these days when "Left" tends to have become the appellation of Communists and fellow-travellers, one should point out that the title of the book might possibly mislead. Herr Frank probably chose that title to show that his sympathies lie with the "under-dog" and minority thinkers.

Artistic and Bohemian life in the Munich and Berlin of before the First World War is excellently recreated in all its fantastic experimentalism and pathos. We view the gathering storm from an unusual vantage point. When the storm broke he had to seek refuge in Switzerland. Then we are taken to Berlin during the years of the Weimar Republic's experiment in democracy. The scene shifts to France in the early days of the last war; Leonhard Frank, despite his strong anti-Nazi record, was interned on the Channel coast. After a perilous journey through Vichy France he managed to get to the United States. Thus in the two World Wars he became—and felt lucky that he so became—a refugee.

There is one unforgettable story related by Herr Frank as told him by his wife Lisa, who had gone to join him in Zurich after the outbreak of the First World War. Here is his description of what his wife had seen on the station platform of Constance:

At eleven that morning the open sunny platform was lined with doctors and nurses, male and female, in their white hospital coats; there were little trucks loaded with refreshments and flowers, and a wall of quiet, expectant onlookers. A military band began to play "Deutschland, Deutschland über alles" as the trainload of wounded drew in.

A hundred hands reached up and opened the carriage-doors, and the men in thick, white, emergency dressings, some soaked with blood—and this was the first thing she noticed—climbed—if only arms were missing—slowly, slowly down, or—if legs were missing—were lifted down and placed on stretchers. A few one-legged men had already



... felt lucky that he became a refugee

been given crutches. All had the same face from which life had been crushed. All were white as death and moved as slowly as death. None spoke. A one-legged man threw his crutch into the trumpeting military band and toppled over. The music broke and ceased.

Of his wife the author comments that she had not the "necessary aggressiveness to deal with life. She was all pity. The war gradually wore her out." Inspired by this incident Herr Frank set to work immediately on a novel, DER VATER

(THE FATHER), passionately anti-war, which a Berlin publisher re-printed in "an apparently innocent almanac."

Herr Frank writes vividly of his experiences in America during the last war. He says that after his lucky escape from France he "arrived in America in rags," with thirteen dollars and the manuscript of an uncompleted novel—this he had sewn into the lining of his dirty and tattered jacket in case the Nazis or French should confiscate it! He was given a script-writing job in Hollywood, on the strength of his reputation, at 100 dollars a week, but was mystified when he found that he was for a long time given no work to do, although he had to adhere rigidly to office hours! It is fairly obvious that Leonhard Frank found refuge (for which he was naturally grateful) but no real peace or happiness in the US. Soon after the end of the war he returned to Europe.

And what has this anti-war German to say of the present situation? Just this (he writes of himself in the third person, as "Michael"):

He does not believe in an atom war, because it would leave the victor naked and moribund, because in engaging in an atom war capitalism would commit suicide and decline into barbarism, because at the end of such a war a hundredweight of diamonds would be worth less than a handful of wheat, assuming that wheat—and men—still existed.

It seems to Michael that if human beings use the means now at their disposal to extinguish the human race, they will prove that humanity has been but a bungled thing from the beginning and its genius a perverse distortion. But Michael believes in humanity. He believes in mankind, for he accepts what he sees in the eyes of an innocent child.

It was a Russian who opened his eyes . . .

STEPHEN HOBHOUSE sent the following message to the Triennial Conference of the War Resisters' International at Paris, through Rosa Hobhouse, who was present:

Unable as I am in these days to attend conferences, I look back with thankfulness to the time, 53 years ago, when the Russian prophet, Leo Tolstoy, opened my eyes to the terrible evils of militarism. I recall the beginning of the first World War when we all went cheerfully to prison together.

I find that in 1934 I wrote of that first test: "We felt that to take part in the slaughter of war would involve us individually in sin against our conscience or against God; but most of us felt too that we were out to save our country and mankind quite as much as to save our own souls."

May your Conference bring an added sense

of confidence and hope to all war-resisters the world over.

The best way to make Communists

"ONE thing that the Asians still 'on the fence' will not tolerate, is more protection than they ask for against Communism. This amounts to saying, in effect, that the best way to make Communists out of Asians is to send troops and money and munitions to fight the Communists in Asia. Many Asians want no part of Communism, but even more, they want the privilege of rejecting it for themselves without any officious or paternal interference from the United States. This makes it tough on the Americans, who are afraid that the Asians won't decide to do what is best for them, and for Americans, incidentally."

—Manas, California.

LETTERS

Formosa

YOUR logic on the subject of Formosa last week leaves something to be desired.

You seem to suggest that America by allowing Communist China to be admitted to UNO would be acting "in a peaceful and civilised manner," and could then expect the Communists to do likewise by accepting a compromise on Formosa. You ignore the fact that the American claim to have any say in Formosa at all is based on force and that the answer to force is force in the non-pacifist world. If the force used to liberate Formosa from the Japanese becomes the force which aims at dictating to China the form of its internal government it is as iniquitous as the iniquity it has expelled.

If ever this episode leads, as it quite likely might, to World War III, it would be a matter of regret if Peace News had not exposed to the full the wickedness and arrogance of the Americans. In the matter of the satellite states they can complain that they have been double-crossed by the USSR but they have no such complaint against China. In this case it is merely the insolence of the West dictating to the East. Of course Communism is a wicked thing, but if it is so wicked that we can disregard normal political morality in dealing with it, why did we join hands with it to defeat Hitler?

D. G. WILLIAMS.

153 Finlay Rd., Gloucester.

We refer to this letter on page two—Ed.

Invitation to COs

THE London and South-Eastern Board for Conscientious Objection would like to revive during the autumn the COs' Supper which used to be held annually some years ago. We think it is worthwhile to provide facilities for fellowship among COs—the opportunity to renew old friendships and associations and to make new ones—and a social function enables us to do this. All who have registered as Conscientious Objectors would be welcomed, men and women.

Perhaps you would allow us the kindness of your columns to help us make contact with any of your readers who may be interested. They should write to the Secretary (Sidney Billson, 33 Compton Road, N.1.) for details.

L. TRAYNER (Chairman).

S. BILLSON (Secretary).

German rearmament

ALTHOUGH Reginald Reynolds (August 20) may be right in his criticism of Ben Parkin, it is wise for pacifists to get involved with each other in clever complex arguments? We need not stress the need for being logical, when consistency means the re-establishment of militarism elsewhere because we have not effected disarmament of our own country.

The simple case is surely this:

Forty years in the lives of millions of people the world over have been worsened by the struggle and promise to end German militarism. A naturally wealthy Germany with an industrious, inventive 60 millions of people is at the strategic centre of Europe. She suffers under the smart of two crushing defeats. She lost her colonies in the first defeat, and a very large part of Eastern Germany in the second, and is still over-crowded with refugees. Germany, by all the rules of the game of war, is set upon the recovery of her lost provinces and lost colonies, and the wiping out of two major defeats.

Reginald Reynolds may just be trying to be consistent, but the Conservative Government and Labour "Opposition," exploiting the German desire for "Revanche," are only con-

cerned in thrusting a militarised Germany, with millions of women and children, between us and the Russian armies.

It may be illogical, and yet wise, to prevent her re-armament as long as possible—if only because there is a bare chance of a saner outlook all round.

FRANK HANCOCK.

Lewes, Sussex.

Third Camp

IN the article on the Third Camp (August 20) Olwen Battersby states that it rejects Capitalism, Communism, and State Socialism. May one ask what system is to be supported? There cannot be a vacuum; some system of government there must be, otherwise there would be chaos and the opportunity for the growth of big business.

Was this, perhaps, the first wrong turning taken by Christianity—abandoning the rule of common ownership and having nothing else to put in its place—so opening the way to that contradiction in terms the "Christian Big Businessman"?

L. MIDDLETON.

134 Leigh Hall Rd., Leigh-on-Sea.

Olwen Battersby comments: "I was, of course, quoting from the speech of Tom Wardle. Nevertheless I share his view that Capitalism, Communism and State Socialism alike involve a highly centralised society in which the individual counts for little, and for that reason should be rejected as the pattern for a Third Camp."

Sybil Morrison

I HAVE just read Sybil Morrison's "Hopeful Heresy" (August 27) and her wise letter commenting on Robert Greacen's review of that excellent book SOLDIER AT THE DOOR; and I am filled with admiration at her sincere and searching perception and her remarkable power of expressing her thought.

My mind reverts to all her writings on page six of Peace News—her effective method of juxtaposing thought in two quotations, at the head of her articles; and the perfection of her technique in dealing with commonly approved plausibilities and specious pronouncements that are promulgated from the "seats of the mighty."

All members of the Peace Pledge Union and most readers of Peace News will, I feel sure, join with me in this tabloid tribute to our dauntless "captain."

E. E. BRISCOE.

Littlecote,

Hever, Edenbridge.

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MEETINGS

CONFERENCE ON CONSCIENTIOUS OBJECTION. London Friends Peace Committee invite young men and women to conference at Westminster Friends Meeting House, 52 St. Martins Lane, at 2.30 p.m. on September 12, 1954. Tea provided. Further particulars from Joan Hancock, 8 Barclay Oval, Woodford Wells, Essex.

INTERNATIONAL CLUB, Bath. Every Tuesday, 7.30 p.m. Royal Literary and Scientific Institute, 18 Queen Square, Bath. All welcome.

KING'S WEIGH House Church, Duke St., nr. Bond St. Tube. Sunday at 6.30 p.m. The Gospel of Peace. Rev. Claud M. Colman, MA, B.I.R.L.

LECTURE "Vegetarianism in Ancient Culture" by Dastur Framrose Bode, Parsee High Priest. Court Room, Caxton Hall, Westminster; Friday, September 10, 7 p.m.; organised by London Vegetarian Society. Collection.

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As this is a free service, we reserve the right to select notices for publication. We nevertheless desire to make it as complete a service as we reasonably can, and therefore urge organisers of events to:

Send notices to arrive not later than Monday morning. Include: Date, TOWN, Time, Place (hall, street); nature of event; speakers, organisers (and secretary's address) —preferably in that order and style.

Saturday, September 4

DERBY: 10.30 a.m.; meet at Bus Station (Hart's) for leaflet distribution. 3.30 p.m.; Temperance Ho., 110 Osaston Rd. Poster parade. 5 p.m.; Tea (provided). 6.30 p.m.; 2nd poster parade. 7.45 p.m.; Market Place—open-air mtg. PPU.

LONDON, W.C.2: "Renounce the H-bomb" rally. 1.45 p.m. Marchers and pipe band assemble at Endsleigh St., Euston. 3 p.m. Meeting in Trafalgar Square: Emrys Hughes, MP, Victor Yates, MP, John Hoyland and others. Chair Sybil Morrison. 5 p.m. Peace Exhibition, Bookstall and Buffet in Friends Meeting House, St. Martins Lane, followed by "Any Questions?" session, 7 p.m. FPC, For, PPU, APF, MPCC.

LONDON, N.5: 4 p.m.; 16 Aberdeen Rd., Highbury. Rowland Philcox, "PPU Policy." Religion Commission, PPU.

Sunday, September 5

DERBY: 7.30 p.m.; Market Place. Open-air mtg. Fred. G. Forster and others. PPU.

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.

HYDE PARK: 7-9.30 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

LETHBRIDGE: 6.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., Howgills, Stn. View. Tom Wardle.

Christians and the Colour-bar." SoF.

LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m. Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (Nr. Holland Pk. Stn.) Rev. Will Hayes, "Looking for the Lord." Religion Commission, PPU.

Monday, September 6

MANCHESTER: 1-2 p.m.; Deansgate Bliz Site. Christian pacifist open-air mtg. Local Methodist ministers and others. MPF.

THORNTON HEATH: 8 p.m.; 47 Parchmore Rd., Tom Wardle. "The pacifist case on Civil Defence." For.

Tuesday, September 7

MANCHESTER: 7.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho. Special meeting to discuss 1955 AGM whereabouts. PPU Manchester Central Gp.

Wednesday, September 8

OXFORD: 7.30 p.m.; 31 Gaisford Rd., Basil Francis. "PPU Policy." PPU.

NOTTINGHAM: 1.15 p.m.; Open-air mtg. Old Market Sq. Rev. Donald Pipe and others. For, PPU.

Thursday, September 9

LONDON, W.C.1: 1.15-1.45 p.m.; Church of St. George the Martyr, Queen St. Weekly lunch-hour Service of Intercession for World Peace. Conducted by clergy and laymen of different denominations.

LONDON, W.C.1: 7.30 p.m.; Dick Sheppard Ho., 6 Endsleigh St. Meeting of Pacifist Youth Action Group. Every Thursday. PYAG.

Saturday, September 11

WOLVERHAMPTON: 3 p.m.; Poster Procession, "Renounce the H-bomb," from Little Lane, Stafford St. to Market place for public mtg. Speakers: Cnclr. Mrs. V. Fletcher, Rev. Norman Parsons, Cnclr. Lewis Burgess, MA (prosp. Lib. candidate, Wolverhampton, S.W.). Wolverhampton Peace Council.

Sunday, September 12

GLASGOW: 8 p.m.; Queens Pk. Gate. Open-air mtg. PPU.

HYDE PARK: 6 p.m.; Pacifist Youth Action speakers. Every Sunday. PYAG.

LONDON, W.C.2: 2.30 p.m.; Friends Mtg. Ho., 52 St. Martins Lane. Conf. on Conscientious Objection. See classified advert, Friends Peace Committee.

Monday, September 13

COVENTRY: 7.30 p.m.; Queens Rd. Baptist Ch. Rev. Clifford Macquire, "The Challenge of the H-bomb." For.

Saturday-Sunday, September 18-19

ST ALBANS: Diocesan Ho., Verulam Rd., John Ferguson, MA, BD. Week-end Youth conf. Details from Max Parker, Drayson, Church Ave., Pinner. For.

Sunday, September 19

LONDON, W.11: 3.30 p.m. Studio, 29 Addison Ave. (Nr. Holland Pk. Stn.) Tom Wardle, "Peace—within and without" Religion Commission, PPU.

Monday, September 20

OLDHAM: 8 p.m.; Methodist Schoolroom, Henshaw St. (bus stop, Market Pl.) Rev. Clifford Macquire, "My Visit to Russia." For.

"MENACE" OF THE RUSSIAN NAVY

Propaganda from the Admiralty

WHY did the Admiralty come out last week with the sensational revelations of the huge navy that the Russians are now building and a description of the kind of navy that Russia will have in three years time?

I think I can guess the reason. This is a broadside against those who are calling for a reduction in "defence" expenditure.

And not least it is meant for the Chancellor of the Exchequer and the Treasury.

For during the Budget debates, Mr. Butler stressed the fact more than once that we must reduce our "defence" bill.

Behind the scenes, I guess, there is a struggle going on between the Treasury and the Admiralty.

In the Estimates debates one always hears the spokesmen for the Services staking their own claims for more money and more men, and frequently one hears the ex-RAF officers calling for cuts in the Army, ex-Naval officers calling for cuts in the Air Force, and the Brigadiers wanting more for the Army.

Is the Navy obsolete?

This year more than one speaker asked pertinent questions about our naval expenditure and wanted to know whether we were justified in spending such a huge sum on a Navy which cannot protect Britain from atom bombs. For we are no longer threatened with invasion by sea or by bombardment from enemy battleships. The danger is from the bomber, the guided missile and the rocket.

When only one bomb can destroy greater London why should any potential enemy plan to invade a radio-active Britain?

There was no real attempt to answer these questions and the First Lord of the Admiralty concentrated his attention on how we are preparing to meet the menace of the Russian submarine.

The Admiralty has now come out with its revelations, which it presumably did not know during the debate on the Naval Estimates.

It now tells us:

"In two or three years, the Admiralty believes the Soviet Navy will consist of about 30 cruisers, 150 destroyers, 500 submarines, 800 motor torpedo boats, 1,000 mine-sweepers, 300 escort vessels and many patrol and landing craft and 4,000 naval aircraft."

The Admiralty might have thrown in half a dozen or so aircraft carriers when it was about it, but the Russians are not going in for aircraft carriers at £12,000,000 a time, perhaps believing they will be obsolete by the time they are completed.

Mystery figures

How far are these figures reliable and how far are they guesses by our naval intelligence service, to justify its existence, and by the Sea Lords to justify their jobs?

One must always take with some reserve Admiralty figures of enemy strengths. One remembers the furious "We-want-eight-and-we-won't-wait" controversy over the Dreadnoughts, and how later it was proved that the Navy vested interests had exaggerated the strength of the German fleet in order to influence public opinion by scare propaganda.

Service departments can always provide figures about the strength of the enemy. When it was necessary to convince us in 1951 that Russia was greatly increasing her army the number of Russian divisions went up from 175 to 200 and then 215 in twelve months. Now Field-Marshal Montgomery says they have never been more than 175.

Why a Russian Navy?

Let us assume, however, that the Russians are engaged in building a big navy. What can it be for?

If you read the speeches of the Red navy chiefs on Russia's Navy Day you will find of course that they are justifying a bigger Russian navy because it is necessary to defend the USSR. They point to the fact that in the last two wars navies of the Western powers have been in the Black Sea, the White Sea and the Baltic Sea, and that there is a big American fleet based on Formosa which could bombard Vladivostok.

They can argue that Russia has a huge sea coast to defend and that bombers could leave American or British aircraft carriers to bomb Russian cities. And they could point to the

speech made by a Labour Front bench spokesman two years ago when he argued in the Navy debate that Magnitogorsk in the interior of Russia could be bombed by aircraft leaving a British aircraft carrier in northern waters.

So if we are going to make preparations for bombing Russia from the sea then we cannot be surprised if the Russians are building submarines and other ships to sink our aircraft carriers and cruisers.

If we are to have a strong navy to defend ourselves, then we can hardly object if the Russians build a navy to defend themselves too.

And the Russians will argue that they have to defend themselves against the navies of USA, Britain, and all the other navies of the Western Powers.

Can we afford it?

If we accept the Admiralty's revelations and its argument, then there appears nothing for it but to greatly increase our building of cruisers, submarines, and motor torpedo boats in order that we can be prepared to sink the Russian fleet.

This year's Naval Estimates amounted to £353,000,000, twice as much as we spent in 1948.

So if we are going to go in for a naval race with the Russians we will see the Navy estimates rise again and again at a time when the Tory Chancellor of the Exchequer has declared that "defence" expenditure must be reduced.

Of course the discovery of the H-bomb has made nonsense of traditional naval strategy.

The naval correspondent of The Times pointed out last week that the Navy was now experimenting with new devices for finding landing facilities in the event of our ports being atom-bombed. As most of our ports, London, Glasgow, Liverpool, Cardiff, Southampton and Newcastle have large populations one wonders what would be their fate if the Admiralty is now assuming that they will be destroyed.

If we go in for a bigger Navy then we will be spending money on something which will not be able to defend us anyway.

But it will not prevent the Admiralty coming along to ask for a bigger Navy and more money from the British taxpayer.

And if the Chinese start building a navy to defend themselves, what then?

PRESS CONFERENCE

From page one

that one can read in any of the dull propaganda tracts that come from East of Prague.

When questions were suggested, the Leader muttered uneasily and asked for it to be stated that the delegation was tired—which they obviously were, after a long drive from Somerset to London, just prior to the conference.

But Western press conferences don't end with statements.

When the questions were put—mild, sympathetic questions—about education in Russia, how they enjoyed the tour—the answers were given *always* by the Leader.

The whole thing was obviously far too stiff and formal for the Press. A lady asked if the team could tell the Press, each individually, what each one had liked best and least on the tour. Was it porridge best perhaps and the weather least? What did they think of English girls? shouted one cub reporter.

But again the Leader answered, repeating the same mechanical phrases, "we liked the friendship and desire for cordial relations shown by the Young Friends towards the Soviet Youth, etc."

This didn't suit the Press at all. Tell us each of you, what your own feelings are, they said. But again the Leader answered.

Can't you speak for yourselves? the Press asked.

One of the delegation, with a glance at the Leader, said that he liked best the "friendship and desire for cordial relations etc." and he liked least—the weather.

Then the Leader said that their views had been expressed. The conference proceeded dully to its end.

Then after it was over and some had drifted away, Pressmen and Russians stood around in little groups and talked. It was almost as if you were talking to different people. There was humanness about the Russians. An American and a Russian were discussing cameras. Another was complaining loudly that his stomach was empty. And they were smiling. Everybody was smiling.

That was when you got the real impression. If only, one could not help saying to oneself, if only it were possible to get these people quietly in a corner somewhere, with no publicity and none of the oppressive anxiety of being paraded before an assumedly hostile audience, then one might learn something about them as human beings—and they might do the same about us.

And that of course is exactly what the Young Friends did. That was the whole idea. On the official, public, think-twice-before-you-open-your-mouth level there was not much to be expected. But away in a Berkshire cottage, iron curtains lose their reality. What happened on this trip is clearly something that could not be learned at a Press Conference. Perhaps the Russians themselves won't know what happened till they get back and think about it.

'... keep your powder dry'

The Christian attitude to fear of the H-bomb should be "Be sensible, keep your heads, pray, and use your God-given gifts."

—His Grace the Archbishop of Canterbury. August 29, 1954

Trust in God, and keep your powder dry.—Oliver Cromwell.

ALL over the world, during the last two weeks, Christians have been looking hopefully towards Evanston, where the Assembly of the World Council of Churches has been discussing matters of deep significance and importance to the whole human race.

It is ironic, and indeed tragic, that in two World Wars the conflict has been between two or more nations of Christendom. In both the first and second World War churches in Germany and in Britain, in Italy and in France were filled with people begging God to assist them in battle, praying for victory, entreating His mercy for their own sons, brothers or fathers, in fact confident that God must be on their side, and expecting Him to show by some sign that this was so.

Yet, there seems to be very little real trust in the possibility of God's intervention on one side or the other, for those who appear to hold this faith are obviously unconvinced, since it is considered advisable to keep in readiness bombs and bombers, to make alliances with countries condemned as "anti-christ," to attack civilians, including innocent children, and to rely in the last resort, not upon God's but upon man's inventions.

AFTER EDC

From Page One

acceptable to the French Government as they stand.

But they do indicate that there is an alternative to the Western system of collective defence, that demands the most careful consideration.

France has refused to be responsible for leading W. Europe down a road which would have postponed any possibility of German unity indefinitely, created increased tension by arming one part of Germany against the other and gravely added to the risks of war in Europe.

Whatever the reactions to her decision may be new decisions will have to be taken.

It is to be hoped that there will be no fatal rush by America to try to retrieve the position, but that adequate time will be taken to examine all alternative proposals, and above all that Western powers will agree to meet the Soviet Union in a new attempt to find a solution of the German problem which will provide unity for Germany, and security for all Europe on the basis of general all-round disarmament.

Though EDC is dead, German rearmament remains a dangerous possibility. It must be prevented by insistence on the fact that world peace depends on freeing all nations from the fear and burden of armaments and the dedication of the world's resources to the War on Want.

BISHOP PETER AT EVANSTON

From page two

synonymous with the simple "No" which might in either case have been the answer. But perhaps a person in Bishop Peter's position has to give—since he is to return to Hungary—an answer to the first question which does not put him on record as peremptorily rejecting any idea of CP membership but as saying that "it would be impossible"—under present circumstances, because the Party would not accept him, or because he could not reconcile membership with his Christian profession?

The question in one's mind as to what the Bishop's real position is, is heightened by his statement, in answer to question two, that "in a certain sense of the word" one can be "a Communist and a Christian at the same time." He gave an unconditional "Yes" to a query as to whether "Christianity can co-exist successfully with Communism."

It is difficult to believe that the Bishop was completely straightforward or saying all that was in his mind when he said that he didn't know how the state viewed "the attendance of the Hungarian delegation to the WCC Assembly"; or when he declared that he had no conferences with officials of the Hungarian government concerning his attendance at the Assembly; or when he was asked about Christian missionaries not being permitted to carry on their work in some Iron Curtain countries and replied: "I do not know any such cases which would properly justify such a question."

Bishop Peter did not neglect any opportunities to score on the United States. He was e.g. asked, "Do you feel that the free expression of Christianity is more possible in your country than in the US?" His reply: "I do not want to make any political comparison because I wish to avoid violating the conditions of my visa." He said that his being kept in Evanston rendered him unable "to give a carefully analysed answer" to the question whether there were "elements in America that are an unjustified obstacle to peace." He stated unequivocally, on the other hand, that while in the US he had spoken his mind "in complete freedom of will and conscience without any feeling of compulsion or persuasion in relation" to his own government.

Retaliation in kind was the official policy of the last war, and no one, when they went to their churches to pray, seemed to recall that it had once been said, by the God to whom they prayed: "Vengeance is mine."

Remembering these strange and futile attempts to enrol God in the business of slaughtering each other, perhaps it was too hopeful to expect some inspiration, some new vision, to emerge from Evanston.

It may well be, of course, that much more has been said than the newspapers in this country have cared to find space for, or chosen to report. The sayings of the Church of England prelates, however, have not been neglected.

★

"Be sensible," says Dr. Fisher! It would certainly seem obvious that the world is badly in need of a little common sense, but if His Grace is himself a sensible man, it is curious that he cannot see that it is impossible to uphold the doctrine of "Thou shalt not kill," and at the same time support the policy of great armaments.

It is to his Government that The Archbishop should address his exhortation to be sensible, as well as to his fellow churchmen, for there is little sense in planning for the world's destruction as a deterrent to the spread of Communism. That is a policy of despair and a surrender to evil.

"Keep your heads," it is to be assumed, means simply, "Don't get in a panic." Yet, no good reason for cool serenity is advanced, unless the injunction to pray is intended to assist towards the alleviation of panic.

Keeping our heads is of course what the Government advocates for Civil Defence, but, obviously, if there are to be any heads left on any shoulders, some means other than just "keeping cool under fire" will have to be found.

To use our "God-given gifts" is decidedly an ambiguous phrase, since it is to be supposed that the Archbishop believes the human race to be God-created, and therefore knows that man's brain must be one of those gifts—brain to invent good things, or evil things.

The splitting of the atom was not, in itself, an evil discovery of man's brain; it is the use that has deliberately been made of it, that is evil.

Praying to God while retaining these devilish weapons of mass-destruction, while continuing to rely upon war as a means to an end, while using threats which provoke and increase tension, is to show no more trust in God than Cromwell did when he advised keeping the gunpowder in readiness for instant use—in case God didn't come up to expectation!

As Stuart Morris wrote last week, an attempt to use God for our own purposes cannot succeed. Let us, by all means, be sensible, and recognise that simple fact; and then have the courage to throw away the "gunpowder" and rely instead upon the power of good.

★

I do not want my readers to think that I am insensitive to the difficult situation in which delegates from Iron Curtain countries are, both because America is what it is and their countries are what they are. Will Evanston witness "communication" on a deeper level between delegates from East and West? Perhaps I shall have an answer next week.

No Socialist is complete without

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